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Animadverſions

ON THE

SPEECH

Read by the late

LORD *STAFFORD*,

At the Place of

EXECUTION

ON

TOWER-HILL.

Plainly ſhewing

The Fallacy of all the Aſſeverations of His

INNOCENCY.

By *W. P.* Gent.

LONDON:

Printed for *Richard Janeway*, in *Queens-head Alley* in *Paternoſter-Row*. 1681.

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ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE Lord Staffords SPEECH.

THEY who go about to make an argument of the late Lord *Stafford*'s innocency, That he did not tremble at the ſight of the Sheriffs; That he mounted the Scaffold without crickling in the hams; That he could tread the ſtage of his Execution without ſtumbling; Read his part (had he ſo done) without fumbling; Put off his hat to the people as his cue lead him, and lay down his neck upon the block without offending the noſes of them that ſtood by, will be extremely deceived in their expectation. For if mortality can be wrought upon to believe with an abſolute faith, that it is poſitively neceſſary for him ſo to do for the benefit of that Opinion which he profeſſes at his death; and that the advantages which he brings to his Cauſe, will upon the ſeparation of his head from his body, moſt certainly inveſt him in the quick poſſeſſion of eternal happineſs; ſurely he may eaſily diſpence with the apprehenſions of death for an hour or two, and continue a ſeeming confidence for ſuch a ſmall time, to amuſe the multitude, and give his friends an occaſion to make their deluſive comments upon his ſtrained behaviour. For ſtrained and forc'd it was, as any man might have ſeen with half an eye; and all his motions were but the clockwork of a ſtrong perſwaſion. And it may be truly ſaid, That his Lordſhip in his own Tragedy did but act the part of an Innocent; which becauſe he did not that well neither, does but improve the received opinion, That he was not what he pretended himſelf to be. Innocency is ſo naturally eloquent, that it appears in the rudeſt deformity of expreſſion when ſincerely uttered. But for a dying Malefactor to come and read a Harangue of another man's making, to juſtifie his innocency, is but a confirmation that real Crimes want ſtudied defences. Nor was it ever known that men that pleaded for themſelves with other mens labours, ever truly pierc'd the hearts either of Commiſeration or Convincement. Tis a ſad ſign that the deficiency of knowledg of my own innocency lyes at my door, or indeed that I knew not what it was to be innocent, that I muſt be forced to juſtifie my innocency by the aſſiſtance of another

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man's Pen. Had the Gentleman that made the Speech been in his Lordſhips room, and had ſpoke his own words himſelf, perhaps he mighr have had better ſucceſs. But here the Papiſts made his Lordſhip ſpeak like the Idol which contained the Impoſtor of a Prieſt that murmur'd through the Conclave of the wood'n Reſemblance. However be it granted that his ſeeming conſtancy and careleſneſs of behaviour had been innate, and had inhabited within him; 'tis not the firſt time that Griminals, as bad as he, have made uſe of proteſtations as deep to purge their innocency, and have ſhewed a fortitude far ſurpaſſing his Lordſhips. Marſhal *Biron*, once a faithful ſubject to his Prince, but afterwards convicted of a Villanous Conſpiracy againſt his Soveraign *Henry* the fourth of *France*, and for that reaſon ſentenced to loſe his head, proteſted his innocency, and challeuged the Chancellor to appear before God to anſwer his Appeal; nay he went further, and accuſed the King of Ingratitude and Injuſtice. And *Vanninus* himſelf dyed in flames denying God, with a Gallantry highly ſuperior to that of this ſame inſtructed and lectur'd Criminal.

This Reſolution and Conſtancy of theirs, or rather pertinacy in a bad Cauſe, was nevertheleſs in them natural and genuine; but whether his Lordſhips obſtinacy were not the effect of medicamented drinks and diet, is a queſtion that will not eaſily be reſolved in his favour. For certainly it could be no act of a ſedate conſideration, to ſuffer the weakneſs of his memory, and the meanneſs of his parts, to be ſo openly expoſed, that he ſhould not be able to deliver himſelf in the juſtification of his innocency, but by reading a ſtudied and formal Homily to the people, ſo full of Bigotiſm and miſguided ignorance. And indeed, who can believe what he read to be true, when he had not the confidence to believe or give credit to himſelf? So that the Papiſts may give out what ere they pleaſe, That the Execu tioner martyred his body, but moſt certainly his pretended friends were the perſons that unkindly martyr'd his Reputation. 'Tis the general belief, that the words of a dying man bear a great ſway among the people; but the words which this dying Criminal read to the people, were not the words of a dying man, but of a living *Incognito*, which the dying perſon was deluded to read, becauſe he wanted words of his own, or at leaſt ſuch artificial and cunning phraſes as were proper for the purpoſe and deſigns of the living. For as to the Speech it ſelf, it is as plain as noon-day-light, that it is only a continued piece of Frame-work Weavery to cover and conceal the dilated and general Crime of the whole Party, by putting words into his Lordſhips mouth to beſpatter as well His Majeſty himſelf, as the great Aſſembly of the Nation who were his Judges. And all this with ſuch a thin-ſpun Vail of untruths and falſities, which unleſs they can annihilate the men that wrote, obliterate the Writings which they left behind, and expunge all the truth of Hiſtory, all the impudent ſanctity of *Rome*, nor all the ſubtil evaſions of her moſt deeply intereſted Caſuiſts can ever be able to hide from the world. Now then to take the Second-hand piece of Joynery aſunder.

by

By the permiſſion of Almighty God I am this day brought hither to ſuffer death, as if I were guilty of High Treaſon.

The perſon that penn'd this Speech knew well, that according to the Proverb, with ſome variation, Mad men, and men under the hands of the Executioner, might ſay any thing. Here is in the firſt place the Providence of God arraign'd for permitting him to *ſuffer death* innocently. But ſetting aſide his extravagant peek againſt Heaven, in the next place he bids defiance to the whole Juſtice of the Nation, which all that know the Juſtice and proceedings of other Countreys, will acknowledg to be the faireſt and moſt indulgent of any part of Chriſtendom. He himſelf, uſing his own expreſſions, had confeſt, after his ſentence, that there was a deſign to have brought in Popery, and that he was privy to the ſame. His Majeſty, the Parliament, and his Judges, had examined the ſaid deſign, and had found what it was, were ſenſible how far his Lordſhip was particularly engaged in what he had in general confeſſed, and thereupon had juſtly condemned him to dye. Yet after all this he has the confidence to read the words of another man, and ſay, he is brought to ſuffer death *as if guilty of High Treaſon.* So ſtrangely had the ferments of continued intoxications betrayed him into an unlucky forgetfulneſs. His Lordſhip had very hard fortune to be the firſt that the Parliament of *England* had Impeached, *as if he were guilty of High Treaſon*; that he ſhould be the firſt his Peers had found guilty only as if he were guilty of High Treaſon; and that he ſhould be the firſt that God and his Vicegerent the King had ſuffered to dye, *as if he were guilty of High Treaſon.* The people of *England*, nay the whole Chriſtian World, beſides his own infatuated party, will never believe ſuch a Paradox in the ſincere and moſt fair dealing Juſtice of the King and Parliament of this Nation. They will certainly believe the ſentence of the moſt awful and magnificent Court in the whole world, before the ſecond-hand inſinuations of a Traytor upon the Scaffold. He goes on:

I do moſt truly, in the preſence of the Eternal, Omnipotent and all-knowing God, proteſt upon my ſalvation, That I am as innocent as it is poſſible for any man to be, ſo much as in thought, of the Crimes laid to my charge.

Here the queſtion may be put, Who it was that made this proteſtation, whether the priſoner upon the Scaffold, or the perſon that contrived the Writing? To ſay truth, it looks a little ſcandalouſly that his Lordſhip

Lordſhip was only *Deputy-Proteſtor* for another. A Tragical Scene laid between the Poet and the Actor, that the one ſhould write, and the other perſonate. His Lordſhip being doubtleſs made to believe, that no ſinner could be accountable in the other world for another mans words. They had hung a padlock upon his lips by aſſuring him of Heaven; and that he might not ſeem to injure his conſcience at his death, they put a deſign'd and modell'd Scroll of Proteſtations and Aſſeverations into his hand, which he read on to the end of the Chapter, not minding what he read, becauſe it was none of his own. By which means, in regard they knew it was not convenient to ſuffer him to live, they thought to make an advantage of his death. Thus *Treſham*, one of the chief Conſpirators in the Powder-Plot, by the importunity of his Wife, upon his ſalvation denied that he had ſeen *Garnet* in ſixteen years, and ſo dyed: And yet all his ſolemn proteſtations not long after proved to be meerly lyes and falſities by the Confeſſion of *Garnet* himſelf. Thus lately the ſolemn proteſtations of *Ireland* at his death, were ſoon after evinced for moſt notorious falſhoods and untruths by his own near Relation. And thus no doubt it will be ſhortly made appear upon what ſcore, and who they were that over-rul'd this Lord to ſacrifice his life for the general good and ſupport of a Treaſonable and Villanous Conſpiracy.

If it be not thus, 'tis abſolutely worſe, that one whoſe proteſtation upon his Honour had been formerly ſufficient to have given him a ſacred credit, ſhould here before the *all-knowing God*, and upon *his ſalvation*, proteſt his innocency of the *Crimes* laid to his charge, and that with ſuch aggravations, ſo *far as it was poſſible for any man to be*, or *ſo much as in a thought*; and all this after he himſelf had confeſſed himſelf guilty but a ſmall time before, at the bar of the Lords Houſe. He confeſſed there was a deſign to bring in Popery, which was it ſelf a combination againſt the King and his Government. So then it was impoſſible for him to be ſo innocent as the perſon that knew of no ſuch thing, and conſequently impoſſible for him to be ſo innocent *as it was poſſible* for any man to be. Neither could he be innocent *ſo much as in a thought*; for he that does but conſent and connive at a deſign, if he does not think well of it, and wiſh it may come to paſs, is a fool, and void of his rational faculty. No fact of a high nature, that tends to the confuſion of a Kingdom, can juſtifie the innocency of any perſon. But to conceal a deſign for the introducing of Popery into this Nation, is a fact of a high nature; and he is ſufficiently criminal that ſerves the ambition and treaſon of others, though unwillingly. He has tranſgreſſed more than it is poſſible for another man to do, and conſequently cannot be innocent ſo much as in thought. So that his Lordſhips having confeſſed himſelf guilty in part, and being condemned, ſentenced, and executed for the whole, the people muſt believe him guilty of the whole, notwithſtanding all his ſolemn proteſtations before the *All-knowing God*.

It may be therefore wondred rather, that the *Roman Catholicks* ſhould continue this ſtale way to ſupport their Treaſons and their Impious Conſpiracies by tyrannizing over the Conſciences of their dying Bigots, and inforcing them to make ſuch unhallowed Proteſtations of their innocency, as if there were no competent Judges of the innocency of a Criminal, but the Criminal himſelf and his Abettors. They that have polluted their Religion for ſo many years with the Doctrine of Equivocations, and the practice of falſifying at their deaths, can never believe that the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of a Popiſh Criminal at his death, ſo fairly and ſo honourably condemned as this was, can be worth the labour of their wicked inſtructions and treacherous exhortations.

Having thus weakly at the beginning guarded his own innocency, it cannot be imagined that any credit ſhould be given to the reſt that follows. However you ſhall hear how he read on.

I am not aſhamed of my Religion, &c.

Truly the more was the pity. For what a ſort of Religion d'ye think it is? Such a Religion as the very Abbots and Priors in the publick Conceſſions and Reſignations of their Lands and Livings to *Henry* the eight, confeſſed and acknowledged under their hands and ſeals to be compoſed of nothing but falſe Worſhip, Hypocriſie, Ignorance, Avarice and Lazineſs, as may be ſeen in the publick Records ſtill in being. Such a Religion of which a great Hiſtorian writes, *That the extraordinary ignorance of the Eccleſiaſticks, of whom there were many that could not ſo much as read, the ſcandalous lives of others that kept Concubines, were common Drunkards and Uſurers, gave the people an occaſion to miſtruſt that it was none of the beſt.* Such a Religion, of which the ſame Hiſtorian writes, that the Reſidence of the Pope, the Head of it, and his Court at *Avignon*, taught *France* more Vice than ever it was acquainted with before, and more particularly *Sodomy*. Such a Religion againſt which there is more to be ſaid, than againſt any Religion that ever was profeſſed in the world among Rational men. So that there is nothing moving in that pathetical expreſſion; only charity may be apt to think, that had the Sufferer not profeſſed it, he might have expected a better end.

And whereas, ſaith he, *it hath ſo much and often been objected, That the Church holds that Kings Excommunicated by the Pope may by their ſubjects be depoſed and murdered: As to the murdering of Princes, I have*

been taught as a matter of faith in the Catholick Faith, That ſuch Doctrine is Diabolical, horrid, and deteſtable, &c. and as ſuch from my heart I renounce and abhor it.

It did not appear by his Lordſhips reading a borrowed Speech at his death, that his Lordſhip had ever been overmuch taught; nor does it ſignifie any thing how his Lordſhip was taught; for moſt certain it is, the Popes of *Rome* for ſome hundreds of years have been of a contrary opinion to his School-Maſter. They that did it, did very ill to delude a dying man to preach his ignorance ſo publickly, at a time when he ought to have been ſo chary of what he ſaid. Indeed they were kind to his Lordſhips Conſcience in this particular, as to confine it within the bounds of his Lordſhips Learning. But the people muſt not be cheated ſo; they are to underſtand that it is not only an Article, but a Maxime of the Popes Faith, to murder Crowned Kings as well as Excommunicate 'em; and not only Hereticks, but all that will undertake to diſpute his Authority. The Examples of *Zachary* and *Chiderick*, *Boniface* the eighth and *Philip* the fourth, *Julius* the ſecond and *Lewis* the twelfth, *Sixtus* the fift and *Henry* of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, *Pius* the fifth and Queen *Elizabeth*, *Gregory* the 14th and *Henry* the fourth, the Murtherers of *Henry* the third applauded by *Sixtus* the fift, and of *Henry* the fourth no leſs acceptable to *Paul* the fifth; are ſufficient evidences that his Lordſhip was put to read no farther than the narrow compaſs of his own learning. This Article, or rather Maxime of the Church of *Rome*, approved and applauded by the practice and example of ſo many Heads of that Church, his Lordſhip at the inſtigation of his Tutor pretends to renounce in the preſent tenſe at the time of his death; but what his Opinion was before, we do not find that he read one ſyllable. A very fine contrivance to impoſe upon the people, for a Criminal to renounce at his death, when his renunciation ſignified nothing, thoſe crimes which he had committed all along while he liv'd.

But here we are farther to obſerve the fallacy of this part of his written Paragraph; *I have been taught that the Doctrine of Murdering Princes is Diabolical, and deteſtable, and as ſuch, I do renounce and abominate it.* So then, if it be not as he was taught, it is by the ſame words imply'd, that he did neither *abominate* nor *renounce* it. As he was *taught*, he did both abominate and renounce; as he came to know better, and had acted accordingly, he dy'd with an impenitent approbation.

Having thus juggl'd with the World as to the renunciation of the Murder of Kings: But, ſays he,

As

As to the doctrine of depoſing Princes, I do in my conſcience declare, That it is contrary to the Fundamental laws of the Kingdom, injurious to Soveraign Power, and conſequently would be in me impious and damnable.

One might here wonder why the Framer of this Speech ſhould here make a diſtinction between the Doctrine of *Excommunicating* and *Murdering*, and the Doctrine of *Depoſing* Kings: For neither *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, *Symancha*, *Mariana*, *Peter de Onna*, *Creſwell*, *Treſham*, *Guignard*, *Gueret*, *Verona*, nor many others that might be mentioned, make any diſtinction of the point, but all unanimouſly, though in different words, cry out, *A Papa condemnatum vel Excommunicatum occidere licet.* It is lawful to kill whomſoever the Pope has condemned or excommunicated, no matter how, whether by poyſon or any other way. And *Urban* the ſecond made a Decree, That no perſon ſhould be taken for a Homicide that murdered an Excommunicated Heretick. They that are unſatisfied of theſe Truths, may repair to the Learned, and ſee the words themſelves. But now this ſame Serpent of a Speech-maker was ſubtiller than any of the Flock of Antichriſt; and therefore he ordered his Pupil to diſtinguiſh between the Doctrines for the eaſe of his Conſcience; and that he might ſeparate the words *Renounce* and *Abominate*, from *impious* and *damnable*, to ſeem dreadful and forcible from the mouth of a dying man, and yet in reality ſignifie nothing at all. For as to the firſt point of *Murdering*, that, the Criminal is ordered to *renounce* and *abominate* ſo far as he was taught. The ſecond point of *depoſing*, he neither *abominates* nor *renounces*, but only artificially waves, by declaring that it is his *true and real judgment, that the ſame doctrine is contrary to the Fundamental laws of this Kingdom, and injurious to Princes*; therefore it would be *impious* and *damnable* in him.

Here we are to obſerve, that the Propoſition or Aſſertion is a general incluſive; the concluſion or General excluſive, a meer *invidium vagum*; becauſe *this is*, therefore the other *would be*; when? When the King ſhould be King, and that it were no injury to depoſe him. So that his Lordſhip declared his real judgment, but not the Truth that was expected from him. The ambiguity of the words do plainly demonſtrate that his Lordſhip had no intention to make a real confeſſion; and that it was his buſineſs only

——*Ambiguas in Vulgum ſpargere voces.*

So to ſave himſelf from dying a Heretick, and denying at his death the very fundamentals of his Religion, which abſolutely and poſitively uphold and enjoyn the Excommunicating, Dethroning, and Killing of all

all Princes Heretical and diſobedient to the See of *Rome*. It is one thing to proteſt with a free and cordial ſincerity; ſuch a man ſhall never want ſuch words, though of the meaneſt capacity, that you may ſee into his heart through the very breath that utters them. It is another thing to make ſolemn proteſtations in ſtudied periods, and with weighty words placed and blended according to art and advantage. Such prudent formalities do but betray the guilt they endeavour to conceal, there being nothing that renders a Criminal more obnoxious, than a laborious elocution in his defence, as being a thing ſo unneceſſary to a pure and untainted ſincerity. It is the character of ſincerity, that it opens the heart; but all the circumſtances make it out, that his Lordſhips rehearſal was deſign'd to cloſe and ſhut up his. So that all his ſolemn words having loſt their ſincerity by diſcovering their end, which was the concealment of his mind, he might as well have appeal'd to St. *Dominick* or St. *Chriſtopher*, and have gained as much belief, eſpecially when the Criminal dyes a Votary to a Religion ſo deeply bankrupt in its Credit already.

To my great and unſpeakable grief I have offended God by many things; but I give him moſt humble thanks, not in any of theſe things of which I am accuſed.

Sure his Lordſhip had ſome miſtruſt in his proteſtations to the *All-knowing God*, which makes him here begin to complement him. But barring his Courtſhip, we hear him reading, *That he is not aſhamed of his Religion:* Which what it was, all the World knows: So that it was but a courſe complement to ſay, That he had not offended him in any of thoſe Crimes of which he was accuſed; it having been more civility for him to have ſubmitted to the determination of the great Deity, whether they were Crimes or no. He had offended God's Vicegerent, and that was ſomething of an argument againſt him. It ſeems he did commit thoſe Crimes he was accuſed of, but he did not think them Crimes, as none of his Perſuaſion do; and ſo he was reſolv'd to be his own Judg before he appear'd before the Tribunal of Heaven. This was an unlucky ſtumble, and ſomething worſe than that, when he read *commiſſion* inſtead of *permiſſion*, at the beginning of his Oration.

All the Members of either Houſe having liberty to propoſe in the Houſe, accordingly I propoſed what I thought fit, the Houſe is Judg of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of it; and I think I never ſaid any thing that was unfitting there,

there, or contrary to the Law and Uſe of Parliaments; But certainly if I had, the Lords would, as they might, have ſome way puniſhed me. So I am not culpable before God or man.

This Argument might have been ſpar'd, becauſe it makes againſt him: for the Lords did not puniſh him for any thing he did in the Houſe, but they found him guilty both of what he did and ſaid out of the Houſe; and therefore by the force of his own induction he was *culpable* both before *God and man*. This was another foul miſtake of his Lordſhips Inſtructor.

It is much reported of Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and Pardons to murder, lye, forſwear, and commit ſuch other Crimes held and given in the Church. I do here profeſs in the preſence of Almighty God, I never learned, believed, or practiſed any ſuch things, but the contrary: and I ſpeak this without any equivocation or reſervation whatſoever. And certainly were I guilty either of my ſelf, or knew of any that were guilty, whoſoever that were ſo, of any of thoſe Crimes of which I am accuſed, I were not only the greateſt fool imaginable, but a perfect mad man, and as wicked as any of thoſe that ſo falſly have accuſed me, if I ſhould not diſcover any ill deſign I knew in any kind, and ſo upon diſcovery ſave my life, I having ſo often had ſo fair occaſions propoſed unto me, and ſo am guilty of ſelf-murder, which is a moſt grievous and heinous ſin. And though I was laſt impeached at the Lords Bar, yet I have great grounds to believe that I was firſt brought to Triul, on the belief that to ſave my life I would make ſome great diſcovery. And truly ſo I would, had I known any ſuch thing of ill deſign, or illegal dangerous Plot, either in my ſelf, or any other perſon whatſoever without exception. But had I a thouſand lives, I would loſe them all, rather than falſly accuſe either my ſelf, or any other whatſoever. And if I had known of any Treaſon, and ſhould thus deny it, as I do now upon my ſalvation at this time, I ſhould have no hope of ſalvation, which now I have through the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus.

The alteration of ſtile in this Paragraph ſeems to imply that more heads than one went to the framing and inditing this Speech. And indeed, it is ſuch a ſcrap of female tittle-tattle, and ſo unmaſculine, as renders it very ſuſpitious that ſome devout woman had a finger in this part. 'Tis well the Midwife is faſt, elſe ſhe might have the honour to have been miſtruſted to have had a hand in making his Lordſhip as *Romantick* as her ſelf; beſides, that there is much of Meal-tub Recrimination in it. Whoever they were, ſince his Lordſhip is gone, they ought to anſwer for the falſe *Engliſh*, as well as for the ſilly ſtuff they made him utter. If it were not a woman, it was ſure ſome Foreign Prieſt, and conſequently as little to be credited as if the Prieſt himſelf had read it. It begins thus: *It is reported of Indulgences*, &c. *to commit crimes held and given by the Church*. But let the *Engliſh* be as falſe as it will, the report is certainly true. Who can imagine but that Father *Cotton*, Confeſſor to *Henry* the Fourth, when he told two ſuch wicked lyes, as he did, to the very face of the King, had a diſpenſation for ſo doing? For firſt, when the King ſhewed *Cotton* certain Letters which he had received from *La Force*, giving him advice of a certain *Spaniard* then in *Paris* with a deſign to kill him, and deſcribing his perſon, the ſaid *Cotton* told the King, that the Letters were vain, frivolous, and not to be credited, though he knew the ſame perſon was in the City at the ſame time. And next, when the King commanded him that the perſon ſhould be ſought for, and brought to him, he went away, and after a pretended ſearch returned, and told the King he could not find him, when he knew he was ſafe out of Town.

Who gave Father *Garnet* authority to tell his Judges, that *he knew how, and how far to equivocate.* For which *Endæmon Johannes* wrote his Apology, and aſſerted the Doctrine of Equivocation out of the Scripture, the Fathers, and the School-men, which *Aquaviva* the Jeſuit approved. Theſe are no reports, but all matter of fact recorded in Hiſtory.

As for Indulgences, all people that can read, may read in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, that they were as cheap as Neck-beef all over *Germany* for all ſorts of ſins whatſoever, by the incomes whereof the Pardon-Mongers revel'd in all the debaucheries that the Bawdy-houſes and Gaming-houſes of that wide Country could afford them. But that which is more Comical (for remiſſion of ſins is but a May-game at *Rome*) is the *Book of Rates*, the moſt luſcious toleration of wickedneſs that the wicked could expect. This Book of Indulgences was printed at *Paris* in the year 1570. by *Touſſain Denis* in St. *James-ſtreet*, at the *Wooden Croſs*, under the title of *Cancellaria Apoſtolica*, and contains the price of an Indulgence for ſeveral bleſſed Crimes.

Imprimis. Whoever ſhall deflowr a Virgin, ſhall pay ſix groats.

Item,

Item, He that ſhall carnally know, by conſent of both parties, his own Mother, his Siſter, or his Godmother, ſhall pay five groats: but if it be known publickly in the Church, then ſix.

Item, He that kills his Father or his Mother, ſhall pay a Duckat.

Let a man commit *Sodomy* or Inceſt, 'tis but ſaying, *Domine Jeſu ſuſcipe*; and this application rightly made, according to the method of Cardinal *Sourdis*, gives ye a full and abſolute Indulgence, and remiſſion of all your ſins, as well in reference to the Crime, as to the Puniſhment. For this reaſon the *Roman Catholick* Religion is ſaid to be a Religion of ſo much indulgence, that by the precepts and freedom thereof, the gates of Heaven are always open at a minutes warning. And for the power of granting theſe Indulgences, *Leo* the tenth declared by a Bull dated the *9th* of *November* 1518. That as Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Vicar of Chriſt, he had power to grant them both for the living and for the dead. Now that his Lordſhip ſhould have heard only by report, of this ſtrange and wonderful power of the Pope, is a thing that will be hardly credited among the meaneſt of rational people. And then for Indulgences to rebel, who promoted the league of the *Guiſes*, and indulged them to rebel againſt their lawful Soveraign, tho of the ſame Religion, but the Pope himſelf? And at this time there is recent and ſufficient proof againſt thoſe that received Pardons for 30 000. and 50 000. years, for their vigorous management of this Plot for which his Lordſhip dyed; and againſt thoſe that have lately carried Diſpenſations and Indulgences into *Ireland*, on purpoſe to encourage the people to rebel againſt their Native Prince.

However his Lordſhip *never learned, believed, or practiſed any ſuch thing, but always the contrary.* That might probably be; not but that his Lordſhip had as much reaſon as another to reverence thoſe high-priz'd bleſſings, but out of a youthful careleſneſs not trouble himſelf about the concerns of his Religion; but when once he came to be engaged in the Plot, all he did was meritorious, and ſo he needed neither Indulgence, nor Diſpenſation, nor Abſolution for what he acted. What he means by practiſing the *contrary*, ſeems ſomewhat myſterious, unleſs it were that he refuſed thoſe kindneſſes when they were offer'd him, which ſhew'd an abſolute contempt of his Holineſs's Power and Authority, and a great neglect of his ſalvation. But he goes yet farther, and would make you believe that he made his proteſtation without *equivocation or mental reſervation.* A ſtrange preſumption! For, how did he know but that they who prepar'd thoſe words for him, made uſe of both at the ſame time? His implicit faith was very great in them, who he might eaſily find durſt not truſt him with his own expreſſions. Now let the world judg how fit a perſon his Lordſhip was to be credited in this or any thing that he read. A plain argument of the guilt not only

of

of his Lordſhip, but of all the reſt, that ſuch a perſon as his Lordſhip could not be truſted to ſpeak his own thoughts at his death, but that he muſt be directed to read what was moſt for the advantage of the reſt of the Conſpirators. And it was as great a ſign that they took him for a *fool* or a *mad-man*; upon which two ſuppoſitions, together with that of being *worſe than thoſe that ſo falſly* accuſed him, he lays the whole ſtreſs of his innocency in this Paragraph. But they endeavour to clear him of thoſe three circumſtances, by pretending he would not have been ſuch, had he forborn to diſcover any *ill deſign*, or *illegal dangerous Plot*, whereby he might have *ſaved his life*. Now the queſtion is, Who ſhall be judg whether the *deſign* be *ill* or no, or the *Plot illegal* and dangerous or no? His Peers adjudg'd the *Deſign* to be very *ill*, and the Plot to be very illegal and very dangerous. But he and the reſt of his Confederates were of a contrary opinion, becauſe all was applauded and encouraged by the Bleſſings of the old Gentleman at *Rome*; and upon that account the Deſign and the Plot being neither *ill*, nor *illegal*, nor dangerous, his Lordſhip was not bound to diſcover it. But 'tis an advantage that a dying man has, that he may ſay any thing, becauſe he ſees the utmoſt extent of his puniſhment. But in the living it is a preſumption equal to the Treaſon they lye under, to go about to deceive and outbrave the world with an executed Confederates Speech of their own framing. 'Tis an indignity to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty, to the Sincerity of his Judges, and the Juſtice of the Law, and in ſhort to the very Reaſon of all. Then which, a greater affront cannot be done to Heaven it ſelf; as if the Lords in the *Tower* were wiſer than King, Lords, Commons, Judges, and all that bear ſway in the Nation. And all this too, when their contrivance to conceal diſplays their ſhame. For to ask a plain queſtion, What mean thoſe Epithetes of *ill*, *illegal*, and *dangerous*, but to cover and bury ſomewhat that they were unwilling ſhould ſee the light. Plain *Plot*, and plain *Deſign*, they durſt not truſt his Lordſhip with all, but being ſweetned with *ill*, *illegal*, and *dangerous*, they knew his Lordſhips conſcience would ſwallow 'em down. For had he not diſcovered an *ill deſign*, or an *illegal and dangerous Plot*, he had been a fool or a mad-man indeed; but to conceal a Deſign or a Plot without theſe qualifications, was the trick of a wiſe man. As if there could be any deſign againſt the King and his people, but what muſt be *ill*, *illegal and dangerous*.

Truly 'twas well the Lords and Commons of *England* had ſo much diſcretion left 'em to find it out at ſuch an unlucky time when all the reſt of the Wiſdom in the whole Nation was lock'd up in the *Tower*. There had been a Jewel indeed for Col. *Blood* to have ventured for, had he watched his opportunity; but now the fifth part of the prize is gone.

His

His refuſing to *ſave his life*, when he had ſuch *fair opportunities* to do it, if it were at his own Election, was no ſuch act of Bravery, in him eſpecially. For it is the opinion of moſt men that he would have ſav'd it if he could. But to ſpoyl that ſcene, there was a *Jeſuite*, or a Wife, or a Daughter, or a Lord ſtill at his Elbow, that hung ſuch maſſie gives upon his unſetled intentions, and ſo ſhakl'd his Reſolution, that he could beg for life no farther then his chains would give him leave. His admittance to the Lords Bar was a Sally ſore againſt the Confederates will; and no doubt but the whole party was in pain all the while; but when they were quit of their deadly fears, and had him ſafe again, they reſolvd he ſhould put them into no more ſuch Agonies. So that, after that, they plyed him with the warme Menaces of Purgatory, hot and hot, and kept his Bigotiſme waking to prevent his Confeſſion, as formerly they kept Witches waking to make 'em confeſs. And this is that which the Confederates would fain perſwade the world to be an act of his free will. And they thought it better to paſs him out of the world with a doſe of Equivocation of their own compounding, then that he ſhould ſpeak his own ſentiments to the Confuſion of the whole confederacy.

But thirdly, He ſhould *be as wicked as any of thoſe that had ſo falſely accuſed him if he did not diſcover*, &c. This is *Gaven*, *Harcourt* and *Ireland* all over, plain downright *lying* to defend plain downright *Treaſon*. And indeed the Speech makers could not have put his Lordſhip upon doing leſs, for ſince they were reſolv'd to make him deny all things, it was to be expected that he ſhould throw his durt upon the Evidence. Now theſe witneſſes were ſuch, as he had all the liberty in the world to except againſt, and all the leiſure imaginable to ſay what he could to invalidate their Teſtimony; but all he could ſay was ſo little to the purpoſe, that it was rather Evidence againſt himſelf, than prejudicial to them. Time, Place, and ſeveral other Circumſtances appeared and confirmed the truth of what they ſaid. The meaneſt of the people certainly can not but know, with what grave and ſerious debate, with what a deliberate conſideration, his Majeſty and his Council, with what a laborious diligence two Parliaments have ſcann'd and winnow'd this Myſterious Plot, ſifted the Accuſers, conſidered the accus'd. After all which the people are not to beleive what a Traytor reads upon the Scaffold in his drink, for ſuch was his Lordſhips condition, to be incourag'd and embolden'd by inebriation to own the Lies and Forgeries of other mens framing. A way of dying more becoming a *Janizary* than a *Chriſtian*, to outbrave death upon the ſtilts of Intoxication. How far God may have mercy upon the Soul of ſuch a Lord as this, ſhall not here be diſputed, but certainly thoſe that made this ſpeech for him, had no mercy upon it, no compaſſion at all. They that were ſo unkind as to ſend a man to his grave with a Label of Equivocations in his mouth, and ſo to inebriate his ſenſes,

that he might be incapable of minding what he read, were very indifferent whither he ever attaind to that *Salvation* by which they made him ſo often proteſt. Certain it is, that his Speech was put in his hands but the ſame morning he was Executed, and that not long before he was delivered to the Sherif. And that it was a great Argument that he had not conn'd his Leſſon, that he ſhould make ſuch a foul miſtake at the beginning, as to read by the *Comimſſion*, inſtead of by the *Permiſſion* of Almighty God. And yet this is the man, that thinks to be beleiv'd for reading after other men, and telling the people what other men told him, that he was falſely accuſed.

I do beſeech God to bleſs His Majeſty, who is my Lawful King and Soveraign, who I was by all Laws Divine and Human bound to obey, and I am ſure that no power upon Earth either ſingly or altogether can legally allow me or any body elſe to lift up a hand againſt him in his Legal Authority.

This Prayer might have been for the King of *France*, whom they had choſen for their Soveraign, as well as for the King of *England*, for there is no perſon particulariz'd. However if it be the King of *England* whom he meanes, he is very tender how he delivers his opinion concerning him, and allows him to be only out of danger in his *Legal Authority*. Now what his Speech-Merchants meant by *Legal Authority*, that's the doubt which they have been ſo often deſired to explaine. For if the King be a Heretick, and has no legal Authority in *England* upon that accompt, then it is lawful for any man *to lift up his hand againſt him*; but if the King will lay his Crown at the Popes feet, and take it up again as his vaſſal, then he ſhall be ſafe and ſecure. The King and Kingdom are mightily beholding to his Lordſhip for this kind deciſion of ſo weighty a point.

Next to Treaſon I hold Murther in abhorrence, &c.

Here they make him tell the people how much he abhors *Treaſon* and *Murther*. And it may be, had his Lordſhip liv'd under another Prince againſt whom he had not been invited to Conſpire upon the Accompt of Religion, he might not have come to that untimely end, nor have dyed with ſo much diſhonour. For then it had been Murther to kill

kill such a Prince, and Treason to alter the Government both Temporal and Ecclesiastical. But the King being a Heretick, and excommunicated, and not *Legally Authorized*, it seems his Lordship was unluckily drawn in, like the *Jack-daw* among the *Rooks*, and so suffered for what he so much pretends to abhor, beleiving as his Church beleives and teaches, that Hereticks may be kill'd, and their Kingdoms dispos'd of to others. Nay he is so far from any design to *Assassinate* His Majesty, that though he could make himself as great as his heart could wish by the death of those *Perjurd fellows that brought him to the block*, he would not do it. A very probable story; he would not Murther their Bodies; and yet at the same time does all he can to Murther their Reputations. Whoever these men were that knew so much of the witnesses being perjur'd, did his Lordship a very great unkindness not to appear to help his Lordship out at a dead lift, when he had so much need of their Counter-Evidence. But these vain attempts to perjure the Kings Evidence have been so frequent, and so frequently baffl'd, that it is the shame of their Strumpet Religion that they have no better shifts than these to hide her nakedness.

He is verily perswaded that the *King and his Dominions will be as happy as ever people were.* That is when the King by their means is in his grave and the people in bondage to the Tyranny of the See of *Rome.*

I forgive even those perjur'd men that so falsely have brought me hither by their perjury.

Here is malice and charity very artificially twisted together. He loads 'em first with a double charge of Perjury, and then forgives 'em, to mak 'em seem guilty. The Speech makers were very liberal of his Lordships forgiveness; but they thought it not ill laid out when it was to do mischeif, and make the world beleive, the Kings Evidence were perjur'd, not considering all the while how busily they were perjuring his Lordship at the same time, for do but observe what they make him say next.

I do now upon my Death and Salvation aver that I never spoke one word either to Oates *or* Turbervill, *or to my knowledge ever saw them till my Trial.*

A Ponderous Protestation; but he must read it out, because his Instructi-

Inſtructors will have it ſo. And yet there is a Gentleman, and a perſon of quality too, who ſince this proteſtation was made, avers that he has ſeveral times ſeen Mr. *Turberoill*, in the Company of his Lordſhip at *Paris*. But thus their own party muſt be ſatisfi'd, and the Proteſtants amuſ'd at the expence of his Lordſhips Eternal Infamy. For from hence it is plain that his Lordſhip did not read one word of truth upon the Scaffold. And then what becomes of his Lordſhip we muſt leave all the whole unbyaſſed world to judge, nay the moſt devout of the party muſt tremble to think of it. But after all this, the Speech makes his Lordſhip beleive he had a Conſcience.

I hope, ſaid he, that I have made it appear I have ſome Conſcience. For if I had none, certainly I would have ſav'd my life by acknowledging my ſelf Guilty, which I could have done, tho I know I am not in the leaſt Guilty. And I having ſome Conſcience, make very ill uſe of it; for I throw my ſelf into Eternal pain by thus plainly denying thus conſtantly, at my Death the knowledge of what I am accuſed of in the leaſt.

This was like all the reſt, for how could his Lordſhip hope he had any Conſcience, when he knew it was in the cuſtody of others? Or how could the Speech-makers be ſo confident to make his Lordſhip pretend that he had ſome Conſcience as they call it, when they knew they had both *all* and *ſome* at their own diſpoſal. So that this forced Argument ſignifies nothing. For the reaſon why his Lordſhip would not *ſave his life* by acknowledging his guilt, was not becauſe he had ſome Conſcience, but becauſe he had a great deale of Folly, and becauſe the Lord-Keepers of his Conſcience and that little wit he had would not permit him to do it. And it was as ſmall an Argument of his having ſome Conſcience, for making ſo ill uſe of it, by

by *ſo plainly and conſtantly denying at his death* what he was accus'd of, for all the uſe his Lordſhip made of his Conſcience was only to let Knaves abuſe it. 'Twas his Speech-makers that made the ill uſe of his Conſcience, that made it play at *Whoop all Hidd*; 'Twas they that yerk'd it about with a Whip and a Bell, and made it ſhew allthe Tricks of a dancing Conſcience, never plain, never true in any thing it proteſted or aver'd; and conſtant in nothing but in ſhifting and Equivocating. So that the Speech-makers may be ſaid to have plaid off his Lordſhips Conſcience at ſo many Throws as Paragraphs in the Speech, whether Plot or no Plot; We ſhall ſee how they will play their game, when they come to make their own ſtakes.

I have ſaid thus much in diſcharge of my Conſcience, and do aver all I have ſaid to be really true.

How cunningly theſe ſame Truſtee's for his Lordſhips Conſcience do play with their Truſt? What *Legerdeman* is here with God and the world? For how is it poſſible that he that hardly knew what he read, ſhould aver upon his Salvation that all that he read was true. Oh, Sir, ſays Mr. *Jeſuit* to this, you are under a miſtake, we did not make him aver upon his Salvation that all that he *read was really true*, but that all which he *ſaid* was *really true*. So that if you do not prove that he ſaid any thing of the Speech, or that any of the Speech was his to ſay (for then he muſt have ſaid it without book) then the whole Paragraph is neither true nor falſe, and ſo no breach in the Truſtees, further then a Little ſtur upon his Lordſhips value of Salvation.

I ſhall ſay little of my Trial, and whether it were all according to the known Law, I am too much a party to ſay much of it. If it were not ſo, God forgive him or them that were the cauſe of it.

My Judges were all perſons of Honor, who were all as much bound to judge rightly as if they had bin upon Oath of what was legally prov'd, and not to vote but according as in their Conſciences they were ſatisfied. And if any of them did otherwiſe upon any account whatſoever, I beſeech God forgive them, I do ſo heartily.

In theſe two Paragraphs they put him to read an Endictment againſt the Proceedings of the Law and the Integrity of his Judges. But the People are too well ſatisfied in the great Wiſdom, and unparallelld Sincerity of the Supream Legiſlators of the Kingdom, then to queſtion either upon the ſurmizes of Equivocating Traytors. The Leiſure which the Priſoner had allow'd him for his defence, the freedom he had to make choice of his Council in caſes of difficulty, and the Patience of ſo ſelect

an Assembly to hear his cause, were such Arguments to evince the Equality and impartiality of their proceedings that nothing can be more apparent to the world. They that made this Speech have put the rest that follow upon a difficult task to make out the reason of these doubts. For great things will be expected from them, which if not perform'd will render Speech-making and Speech-makers one of the most contemtible Employments in the world. So that as for that same vertue of forgiveness, since it depended upon so many *Ifs* and *Ands*, they might have spar'd that unnecessary peice of the Revenge, in a man whom it becom'd to die rather like a *Christician* then a *Politician*, Unless you will allow them as words of course, as us'd by all that suffer either at the Block or at the Gallows.

They make him end with a short Ejaculation for His *Majesties happiness*. Which how hearty they were, we make no doubt but His Majesty is sufficiently sensible who was so deeply sensible of the Crimes he had committed against him. They make him conclude with a formal prayer to Heaven in these words.

I beseech God not to revenge my Innocent blood on the Nation nor those that were the causers of it, I do with my last breath, assert my Innocence. And the Omnipotent All-seeing just God deal with me accordingly.

A very untoward ending to breath forth with his last breath a prayer so full of malice, as tending only to charge the whole Nation with his *Innocent* blood, after such a fair and legal Conviction of his Crimes. Which if they that made it for him, beleiving his Innocence to be real, thought the steames of Intoxication, which they call his *last* breath, to be a proper Vehicle to conveigh it to Heaven, they had a very ill opinion of the Place. And we may justly hope, from thence that the request of a Criminal that knew not what he crav'd, will not be so easily granted. Especially when we consider what the verity of Scripture sayes concerning the prayers of the wicked; when we consider that Innocence never wants words of her own to justifie her self; and that Crimes are not so soon wash'd off by Prayers and Protestations of a suffering Traytor artificially fram'd and meditated, and larded with malice and untruth meerly to cover the Guilt, and advance the designes of the living.

FINIS.

FEC65. H100. 1684.